DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 407 549 CE 073 976

AUTHOR Douglas, Karsten
TITLE Refugees and Adult Education in Sweden. The Gatekeeper Janus. Reprints and Miniprints No. 852.
INSTITUTION Lund Univ., Malmo (Sweden). Dept. of Educational and Psychological Research.
REPORT NO ISSN-1100-3391
PUB DATE 95
NOTE 17p.; Reprinted from "Uniqueness in Unity: The Significance of Cultural Identity in European Cooperation. SIETAR Europa 1995 Proceedings," pp. 76-88.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Attitudes; *Adult Education; Cultural Differences; Foreign Countries; Foreign Nationals; Immigrants; *Political Attitudes; Racial Attitudes; Racial Differences; *Refugees; *Second Language Learning; *Social Discrimination; *Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS Bosnians; *Sweden

ABSTRACT

Experiences of Bosnian adult refugees within the Swedish educational system raise questions of diversity and indications of institutionalized discrimination. Approaches to diversity within the education system reflect those approaches within the social system of the nation. Sweden is presently moving toward a uniform and more restrictive European refugee policy. The reorganization of the Swedish education system has involved an ideological shift toward teacher efficiency, internationalization, democratization, and student orientation. Many teachers are finding themselves caught between mixed loyalties to their peer group or organization and student expectations and needs. The symbol of Janus has been used to represent the identification and manifestation of minority cultures in Sweden where some believe minority culture must be controlled by institutionalized authoritarian means. The adult education system is one of many institutionalized instruments of control of marginalized groups within society. Swedish language teachers who stress the absolute necessity of being able to write and speak fluent Swedish may not be aware of how their teaching may be perceived as assertions of power and control by refugee students. Language is a central component of the idea of diversity. The position is taken that those who persist through pedagogical practice in emphasizing the passive consumption of knowledge and skills are expediting institutionalized discrimination. (Contains 33 references) (YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

CE

ED 407 549

reprints and miniprints
from

Department of Educational and Psychological Research
Malmö School of Education - University of Lund
No. 852

REFUGEES AND ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

The Gatekeeper Janus

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

A Bjerstedt

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Karsten Douglas

CE 073 576

In: Machová, B. & Kubátová, S. (Eds.) **Uniqueness in Unity. The Significance of Cultural Identity in European Cooperation**. Stechovice: Printing House VAMB, 1995. Pp. 76-88.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CMS REPORT NO. 35
CENTER FOR MULTICULTURAL STUDIES

Reprint from

SIETAR EUROPA 1995

Proceedings

UNIQUENESS IN UNITY

The Significance of Cultural Identity
in European Cooperation

Edited by
Božena Machová and Sláva Kubátová

Karsten Douglas
Department of Educational and Psychological Research
Malmö School of Education, Lund University, Sweden

Refugees and Adult Education in Sweden

The Gatekeeper Janus

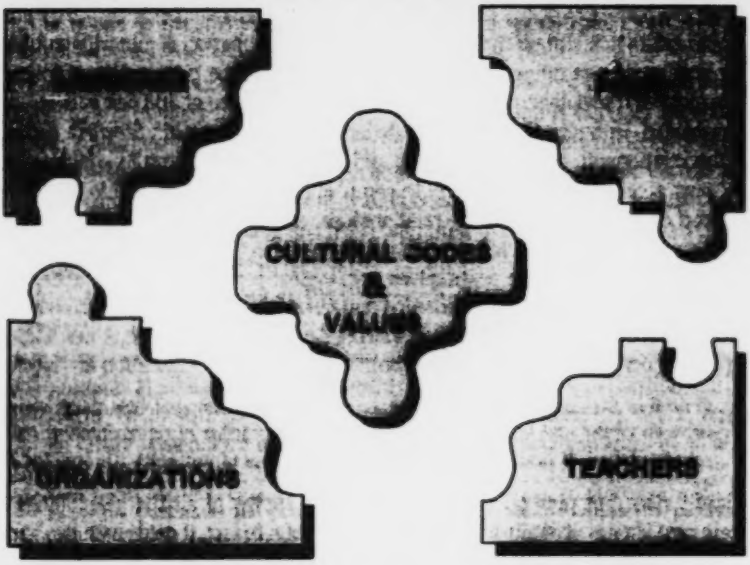
Sail on, sail on
O mighty Ship of State!
To the Shores of Need
Past the Reefs of Greed
Through the Squalls of Hate
Sail on, sail on, sail on...
Leonard Cohen *Democracy* 1992

Refugees and adult education is the working title of a longitudinal study of experiences of Bosnian adult refugees within the Swedish educational system. Based on fieldwork, the critical perspectives used in this study are both pedagogical and sociological. This paper deals mainly with questions of *diversity* and indications of *institutionalized discrimination* within the Swedish adult education system. The underlying premise suggests, although not conclusively, that discrimination is a reality of everyday pedagogical practice, and within the education system as such. Some possible causes of marginalization, alienation and discrimination are discussed by considering the role of teachers and educational organizations as *cultural workers* or *gatekeepers* of the *cultural codes* to society. This paper presents few answers, but poses many questions.

1. Introduction

Pedagogy has in co-operation with other disciplines an increasingly important part to play in making explicit overt and covert political interests within multicultural education, and in analysing questions of culture, language and ethnicity. Pedagogy should not indulge in an idealization of differences since such idealization merely reinforces established dominants, disciplinary practice and established power structures. This paper discusses *institutionalized discrimination* in the pedagogical context of everyday adult

REFUGEES AND ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN



education for refugees. It also explores developments within the Swedish education system and how they have effected minority groups, such as Bosnian adult refugees during the period 1992 - 1995.

As one of the few countries giving permanent residence-permits to the Bosnian refugee group (est. 40 000 persons), Sweden presents a proud humanistic image that is well reinforced on the international arena. These refugees have also received privileged treatment from the government in comparison to other refugee groups. "Adult education as one part of the privileged treatment. Is the adult education system a long-term-parking lot" or rather a place of confinement with limited practical educational use for everyday society? Will the refugees be able to proceed beyond teachers and organizations - *the gatekeepers* - of the education system any further into everyday professional Swedish society (Douglas 1993)? Will the qualifications and professional experiences of the refugee group be used as an asset and taken into consideration in society? How do teachers and organizations[1] handle diversity and reflect through their work the relationship between culture[2] and power in adult Swedish language teaching? What cultural values

[1] *The main organizations within the Swedish adult education system: AMU - Arbetsmarknadsutbildning, Komvux - Kommunal vuxenutbildning, FU - Folkuniversitetet and others. Universities excluded.*

[2] *Culture is not viewed as monolithic or unchanging, but as a shifting sphere of multiple and heterogeneneous borders where different historical backgrounds, languages, experiences, and voices intermingle amid diverse relations of power and privilege (Giroux 1992:32).*

are conveyed to the students by teachers and organizations - *cultural workers* - within the adult education system?

No reason exists to maintain that marginalization and alienation of minority groups are in any way processes unique to one country; rather, in the perspective of historical anthropology and sociology, these processes - more or less violent and destructive - seem to be universal. However, there is a definite lack of discourse within Swedish pedagogy as to the relationship between pedagogy and power, a relationship in which cultural codes[3] play a central role. Therefore, to complement the discussion this paper looks briefly and comparatively at power relationships, and highlights some of the current debate from the U.S.A., especially as that debate pertains to the role of cultural workers and to *border pedagogy*. The postmodern pedagogical perspective that challenges the structure of these traditional relationships and questions the perspective that diversity should be viewed as a romanticized resource. Border pedagogy points out that this romanticized perspective is a means of controlling diversity in education and society.

> Central to the notion of border pedagogy is the understanding of how the relationship between power and knowledge works as both the practice of representation and the representation of practice to secure particular forms of authority (Giroux 1992:29).

This study does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey of all the possibilities and intricate problems of diversity in education and society. In fact, it deals with two specific complexes. The first is the institutionalized role of *the gatekeepers*, e.g. policy, organizations, teachers and L2[4] text books they often use in the application of diversity as a resource. The second problem, and perhaps the most complicated, involves how diversity is *controlled* through pedagogy. Finally, I will attempt to consolidate these different perspectives and to understand their relationship to pedagogical and sociological discourse.

1.1. Background

> Once we recognize the fact that racism is systematically integrated into meaning and routine practices by which social relations are reproduced, it follows that it is not specific agents but the very fabric of the social system that must be problematized. This requires that we reformulate the problem of racism as an everyday problem. The analysis of everyday racism makes clear that racism must be combated through culture as well as through other structural relations of the system. The domains of conflict, as well as the various mechanisms of racism, are related in complex ways. This cannot be countered by fragmented policies. One cannot pursue pluralism without addressing the hidden supposition that the dominant culture is superior and need not be receptive to change.

---

[3] *The rules, e.g. language, for participating in power in a given culture (Delpit 1988:283).*
[4] *Second language teaching.*

> This requires that hidden implications of the ideal of cultural tolerance are countered, that the mechanisms of cultural racism are exposed, and that overall denial of racism is resisted by massive dissemination of oppositional views through the media and in the education system (Essed 1991:295f).

Discrimination (Essed 1991), in different degrees, is a fact of life, not absent from education. But the hidden curriculum within all education is often an acceptable or dismissible reality for society. Recognizing this hidden curriculum can lend to ambiguity, but can help us to make "connections between phenomena and events which often go unrecognized" (Meighan 1986b:66ff) in adult education systems. Comparisons may be drawn here to Bourdieu & Passeron (1977), and their discussion of the reproduction of classes by education systems in society.

If one accepts Aronowitz & Giroux' (1991) discussion on the paradigm of postmodernism and its relationship to multicultural education, new perspectives exist from which one may analyse the current establishment of a tolerant multi-cultural postmodern society. Their arguments are based on the continual presence of race domination, cultural codes and eurocentrism, and also on questioning universal doctrines, i.e. Marx, and they stress the future possibilities for border pedagogy as a democratic agent at all levels of education:

> From the postmodernist perspective, modernism's claim to authority partly serves to privilege Western patriarchal culture, on the one hand, while simultaneously repressing and marginalizing the voices of those who have been deemed subordinate or subjected to relations of oppression because of their color, class, ethnicity, race or cultural and social capital. Postmodernism not only makes visible the ways in which domination is being prefigured and redrawn, it also points to the shifting configuration of power, knowledge, space and time that characterize a world that is at once more global and more differentiated. (Aronowitz & Giroux 1991:115)

The approaches to complexity and diversity in education are no less complex than the approaches in society as a whole. With this in mind, it is necessary to look at education practise in a social context and not as an isolated phenomena outside all social and cultural tension. Husén (1953) and Callewært & Kallós (1992:33) et. al., point this out underlining that education does not exist in a "social vacuum", and that the present Swedish education system in reality is a "protection and counterweight" against democratic social change and those ideals of equality proclaimed in the official curriculum. A similar point is taken by Giroux (1992:118), who expands the discussion of socio-educational tension in the U.S.A. to include race and gender politics. I would argue then that approaches to diversity within the education system reflect approaches to diversity within the social system of a nation. These approaches are represented through individual experiences of diversity, and studying those experiences enables us to glimpse some of the intricate boundaries of everyday life. These boundaries are the subjective realities of a few people (refugees), based on fieldwork, and thereby a valid base for discussion and analysis.

All citations in this paper (where appropriate) have been translated from Swedish. Ethical research standards have been applied and taken into consideration in this study (HSFR).

2. Policy

Looking at an aspect of U.S. policy regarding immigrants and refugees, we find in California (1994) the successfully passed Proposition 187, depriving all illegal aliens the right to publicly funded services, such as education and health care, and limiting future legal immigrant quotas by 50 %. Although civil rights initiatives to oppose these recent policy changes exist, other states are expected to follow in the same direction throughout the U.S. These tendencies represent and reinforce the very obvious demarcation lines between groups. Border lines that encourage the establishment and manifestation of group identity, solidarity and specific language use (c.f. Anderson 1992), in other words, the borders between *Us* and *Them*. The situation for minorities in U.S. society, particularly within the segregated and underfunded education system reflects the reality that many of the problems that are called ethnic are in reality social problems of a declining and fragmented society. Jonsson (1994) sees a dark future for American society, but through eurocentric glasses:

> [...] a cultural and social apartheid, where formally equal minorities worship their imaginary identities showing diminishing tolerance towards others; a society where racism is mutual and the barriers high. (Jonsson 1994:83)

Swedish immigration and refugee policy has varied during the years in relationship to the economic situation and political climate of the country (Widgren 1984, Arnstberg & Ehn 1989, Alsmark & Uddman 1990, Svensson 1992, Rystad 1992). What can be noted, however, is that not unlike the U.S., Sweden and the rest of the countries within the European Union (EU) are presently moving towards a uniform and more restrictive European refugee policy that also reinforces lines of demarcation. Forced repatriation plans for unwanted aliens have been presented by the Immigration Group, a committee of the EU interior ministries under the K4 committee. This EU committee is the intergovernmental organization which runs policy on justice and home affairs[5]. Ålund & Schierup (1992) underline the realities of EU policy for refugees like those in Sweden:

> Those refugees and immigrants who succeed in passing the borders of 'Festung Europa' are subjected to ethnical segmentation, a discriminatory labour market and purposeful political marginalization. (Ålund & Schierup 1992:12)

[5] *Guardian Weekly 19-02-1995.*

Sweden and Finland have given permanent residence permits to the Bosnian refugee group. Denmark and Norway have given temporary permits. But of interest are recent (1994) Swedish governmental discussions (unconfirmed) about revoking the permits in the future and repatriating the refugees after a peace settlement in Bosnia. One may note that few of the Bosnian refugees themselves seem to have any plans of returning to their country of origin, even after the end of war (Douglas 1993:26, 1994, c.f. Hydén 1994). The reasons for not wanting to return to Bosnia vary, of course. But as Denitch (1994) points out in *Ethnic Nationalism*, the economic structure of the countries of the former Yugoslavia will take generations to rebuild after a permanent peace settlement.

To this can be added the recent (1995) discussion by local politicians in a small Swedish town, to actually *demolish* modern apartment houses, in an open attempt to stop more Bosnian refugees from moving to the town[6]. Whether or not this action is ever carried out the symbolic border between *Us* and *Them* is thereby drawn and manifested in a very explicit way. How can we identify symbolic borders in the Swedish adult education organizations?

3. Organizations

Let us consider recent administrative developments for the organizations within the education system and their implications for those filling these positions. Due to the current recession during the 1990s, Sweden has chosen to make considerable funding cuts to the social welfare system and to publicly funded education, well in line - although to a much lesser extent - with the same processes that went on under the Thatcher era in the U.K. and Reaganism in the U.S. during the last decade.

I would suggest that the reorganization of the Swedish education system has involved an ideological shift made acceptable by popular slogans, such as: internationalization, democratization, goal-orientation, market-processes, customer-relations, teacher-efficiency, student orientation, organizational loyalty, decentralization, and rationality, all these slogans resting below the flag of official municipal budget policies and curriculum directives. A point of interest is that these tendencies for the Swedish education system seem to be present regardless of which government is in power, at the national or local municipal level. There is a definite discrepancy between national decentralization directives and local municipal centralization in organizational practise.

Adult education[7] is, naturally, also influenced by these processes. Teaching and affiliated professions related to refugees employ thousands of people and cost considerable amounts on a national level, since everything is state funded. I would say there seems to be a tug of war between state organizations (AMU), municipal organizations (Komvux),

[6] *TT 1995*
[7] With its own curriculum.

and private education organizations for this "lucrative" educational business, resulting sometimes in a lowering of teaching standards and qualifications. But a growing frustration, insecurity, suspiciousness and uncertainty among teachers and staff also exists, creating new borders.

4. Teachers

The National Teachers' Union (LR) has commented on the problems of intimidation of teachers, temporary work contracts and demands for local organizational loyalty. Questions have also been raised about the increasing indirect centralization of administrative authority and control within municipal organizations and the entrenchment of undemocratic values[8]. These movements and shifts of control seem to be increasing in organizations in Swedish society (Brulin 1989, Ekvall 1990).

I submit that we must consider the role the teachers play within this organizational climate and their relationship to all levels of education for adult refugees. Many teachers are finding themselves caught between mixed loyalties to their peer group and/or organization and the expectations and specific needs of the students. Most teachers are doing a serious and professional job, but there are also many who are expected to teach in a highly specialized field (adult foreign language teaching) without having the necessary training or experience. Teaching "results" have at the same time received considerable criticisms by governmental authorities (RRV-93), covering the everyday language capabilities of adult refugees. Discrepancies exist between national curriculum directives and practical implementation of the curriculum, and many teachers and administrators are caught between them. Conflicting directives are not the best foundation for critical pedagogical dialogue.

Delpit (1988:280f) in *The Silenced Dialogue* discusses how many teachers with minority background in the U.S. are quickly brushed aside, and disqualified by their white colleagues, especially when they try to discuss the reality of marginalization, discrimination and racism in education. The minority teachers are met - if acknowledged at all - by the dominant (white) majority group of often supposedly progressive teachers and administrators "[...]wearing blinders and earplugs", as one teacher puts it. To meet this massive wall of unrecognition and degradation leads to a very effective abandonment of any critical educational discourse. As Delpit points out, "[...] the dialogue *has* been silenced". Due to the size and diversity of the nation itself, these problems and issues are on a much larger and more serious scale in the U.S. than in Sweden, but the question still arises: Are there any similarities to such a small country as Sweden, particularly in respect to refugees?

---

[8] *e.g. freedom of speach, Skolvärlden 1994.*

Based on my own teaching experiences and observations, I would suggest that some Swedish teachers wear "blinders" too, but it is not just that the "dialogue" has been silenced, it has not even begun. Teachers with refugee backgrounds, but also a few egalitarian or progressive nationals, sometimes meet the same response from the majority group of teachers. However, I would stress that although special teacher retraining programs have been organized and evaluated by official governmental organizations (UHÄ)[9] many qualified teachers (foreign) hardly ever have the chance to teach and enter into the dialogue within their own field. One example[10] would be a highly qualified mathematics teacher, from a central European country, who at the same time when the schools had an urgent demand for qualified mathematics teachers, had to wait eight years (although she had adequate Swedish language capabilities) before securing a temporary job as a mathematics teacher. Where can we recognize other contradictions in the adult education system?

5. The Gatekeeper Janus

In a historical perspective, we may contemplate the Roman god named *Janus*, introduced to the new city of Rome by Romulus himself. *Janus*, the god of beginnings (e.g. January) presided over gateways and was represented as having two heads, one looking back and one forward, with the symbols of keys and a gatekeeper's staff. The *Ianus geminus*, his gateway to the north-east of the Roman forum, was closed in times of peace and open in times of war. The symbolic two headed mask of *Janus* is often used in literature to describe deceitfulness.

The *Janus* symbolism is used by both Hylland Eriksen (1993:33ff) and Ålund & Schierup (1992). Hylland Eriksen uses the symbol in conjunction with nationalism as the global and most powerful ideology of the state. His description involves the exclusion and definition of *the Others*, most often through territorial claims to a geographically defined area within which a common cultural - historical - ethnical group identity is established and reinforced. These claims result in the manifestation and internalization by the citizens, or group members, of *Us* and *Them*, clearly defining who the group is, and perhaps most importantly, who they are not.

Ålund & Schierup (1992:17) use the symbol of *Janus* in another context, namely, as representing the identification and manifestation of minority cultures in Sweden. On the one hand, culture is (officially) seen as a resource for the diversity of the nation, while on the other side, that cultural resource is not utilized but is interpreted as a problem dividing the nation. This "problem" of minority culture must be effectively controlled by institutionalized authoritarian means to insure social order, and to keep *the Others* from

---

[9] *Universitets och högskoleämbetet.*
[10] *Helsingborgs Dagblad 1994.*

gaining political powers. "Cultural romanticism" has been the predominant orientation in Sweden. This orientation considers culture as a problem of *the Others* difference from the majority group. Cultural romanticism in fact, undermines and effectively hinders the establishment and acceptance of diversity and pluralism in society. "Cultural apartheid" as the result of cultural romanticism, is cast as a possible future development in Sweden (Ruth 1986).

I fully support these claims, and agree that diversity should not be imposed or ideologized. People must be left to choose their own cultural affiliations in life. Culture can not be seen as a stigmatized or stereotyped entity with defined boundaries, but rather as a small interactive part of a larger, complex and diverse system including many cultures (Alsmark 1994).

We can see this *Janus* figure as the authoritarian and bureaucratic figure at the doors of some adult classrooms. I will argue that the adult education system is one of many institutionalized instruments of *control of marginalized groups* within society. These groups today include, of course, also many Swedes, marginalized by the recession and high unemployment. On the one hand, training and education should be provided as specified in the curriculum, and on the other, some teachers and organizations are faithful custodians - *gatekeepers* - of the *codes* to society. Internalized and institutionalized discrimination is in practise through parts of the education system. Many "clients" (Olsson 1989, Douglas 1993), e.g. refugees, perceive themselves as being controlled, and thus discriminated against by the *gatekeepers* of the host country. Many refugees are also quite happy with playing the role of "clients" as long as the refugees are paid different types of benefits through the social welfare system. And it can also be debated, that it is always better for people to do something, e.g. train during a recession, even if the price is control.

6. Control of the Others

I have previously discussed the policies, adult educational organizations and teachers. My intention here is not to go into a long and detailed dialogue on language teaching, transcultural communication or the finer points of adult pedagogy (e.g. andragogy, Knowles 1984). I would like to present a few indications as to the complexity of language teaching in relation to diversity. How do adult refugee students perceive the signals - *cultural codes* - offered them by the majority groups representatives, the cultural workers within adult education. Alund (1993) in a study of immigrant women in Sweden, summarizes these women's experiences of diversity in the adult education system and on the labour market, "as discrimination" (Ålund 1993:163).

Turning to the adult refugee students (Bosnians) in my study, let us hear some comments from their experiences of Swedish foreign language education and other courses.

Although the comments from this study are mostly positive, some recent (1994-1995) negative comments from different locations within the adult education system include:

> You really feel that you have dark hair at this school - I had the feeling that the teacher disliked us, you know, her attitude - The teacher would not help us - They treat us like small children - The teacher must have a complex - The course is incredibly bad ... very passive - They smile, but you know they do not mean it ... they have to be nice - They do not care...like they had a mask on - I can not write like a Swede - I must have perfect pronunciation to be accepted here.

These quotations reveal much about the "codes" refugee students interpret to be important for acceptance in Swedish society. The students are feeling the effects of *institutionalized control* and the beginning of the marginalization process. In what other way is this process evident in pedagogical practise in adult education?

6.1 Language

What are some teachers conveying to adult students when teachers stress the absolute necessity of being able to *write like* a Swede and to *speak fluent* Swedish, i.e. without an accent? The teacher's comments were motivated by the belief that only by mastering these codes would the students get a job and be accepted by Swedes, because people were so intolerant towards foreigners who could not speak correct Swedish. The students are well aware of their own linguistic limitations and the unrealistic prospects of acquiring a permanent job (within their previous profession) in Sweden (not to mention the everyday problem of having a foreign sounding surname). Very few adults, regardless of their educational background and linguistic predisposition, are able to acquire perfect bilingual command of a foreign language. Why should adult foreigners have to? One should add that at the basic and intermediate adult foreign language teaching level, small efforts and resources are used for pronunciation training.

Teachers attempt to teach students the "codes" can be analysed, as Delpit (1988:283) points out, as an earnest attempt to help them achieve power. Contrast the approaches of adult language teachers with those used by teachers of children, and one sees that accents are more acceptable. The assumption is that language perfection and grammatical structure are of less importance (c.f. inter-language). How teachers expose adult students to cultural codes through language may be analysed as an indication of discrimination, in that their approaches reveal an unwillingness to accept the basic right for a person to speak with an accent.

It is important also to consider the role of L2 text books in this process of teaching codes, but also of teaching the values that lie beneath those codes. Indications of the value Sweden places on conformity can be found in most of the sections concerning Swedish values and traditions in L2 student books. One can also compare student books (at the

basic level) from different periods to see certain national ideals and cultural values from different times. An example could be the emancipated young single mother of the 1970s, the hardworking and "content" immigrant of the late 1980s, cleaning floors or driving buses. More recently we have the "romanticized diversity" of the 1990s, when the emancipated young Swedish woman establishes a relationship with a young refugee, and takes her boyfriend to meet her parents. But, in the latest text book (1995) we find little trace of "Swedishness". The texts cover relationships among and between foreigners. Not a Swedish woman in sight this time. The Swedish values are still symbolized, but instead by the image of the little red cottage in the countryside. These text examples and others represent unquestioned cultural images of society, of sameness, and indicate to the refugees the importance of conforming to the majority group. At the same time their difference is underlined and romanticized by the texts. The power and influence of text books is considerable, especially in the hands of inexperienced or unqualified teachers. "Those with power are frequently least aware of - or least willing to acknowledge - its existence" (Delpit 1985:283f). One may argue, that not teaching students to criticize cultural codes and values, reflects intentional or unintentional *diversity rejection* and an unawareness on the part of some teachers of the complex role they play in transcultural adult education. I would contend that many Swedish language teachers (possibly due to lack of training) are not aware of how their teaching may be perceived as assertions of power and control by the refugee students. After all, most of the refugee students have considerable experience of domination and control from their countries of origin.

My point is, that in their chosen role as teachers or educational administrators - *gatekeepers* (Delpit 1985, Douglas 1993) - many become the unknowing bearers of cultural codes of domination and power, that may lead to processes of exclusion, marginalization and alienation for the adult refugee students within the Swedish education system and society itself. We can note and compare similar tendencies and processes within minority education in the U.S.A. This would point to the conclusion, that the impact of teaching and its use of codes on inclusion and exclusion processes, are in no way unique to one group, one country or to one continent, but constitute a common process of cultural, class or ethnic and language domination. This domination may result in conflict between majority and minority groups. The significant difference between the U.S. and Sweden is the very effective *economic control* of refugees in Sweden. The efficient network of *gatekeepers*, sometimes unaware or unwilling to question their role as *cultural workers*, intimidate the refugee students through *institutionalized control* to remain powerless and silent. A silence that many refugees "seem" to prefer and internalize. Diversity has a hard time ahead and a long way to go, even if *Janus* has many positive, sincere and humanitarian sides.

Language is a central component of the idea of *diversity*. Cultural workers have the obligation to explicitly supply the necessary cultural codes for students to be able to identify the relationship of language and power and to critically evaluate their own

realities in society. Only then can they - the marginalized Others (be they Swedes or refugees) - challenge any oppression and/or control from the dominant majority group. Those few cultural workers who persist through pedagogical practice in emphasizing the passive consumption of knowledge and skills (Giroux 1993), are then obviously expediting *institutionalized discrimination* and they are following the ideology of conformism and control. Segregation and alienation processes must be questioned and discussed by the cultural workers themselves, teachers and administrators, *the gatekeepers*. But also, we must all ask ourselves the same questions, and criticize our values, because in essence, we are all cultural workers of the society we live in.

References

Alsmark, G. & Ullman, P. (1990). Att möta främlingar, Vision och vardag, Lund: University Press.

Alsmark, G. (1992). The Lessons of Sjöbo in Rystad, G. (Ed.) Encounters with Strangers. Refugees and Cultural Confrontation in Sweden.Lund: University Press.

Alsmark, G. (1994). *Romantisera inte det mångkulturella*, article. Smålandsposten 22-09-1994.

Aronowitz, S. & Giroux, H. (1993b). *Postmodern Pedagogy*, Politics, Culture & Social Criticism. Minnesota: University Press.

Arnstberg, K-O. & Ehn, B. (1989). *Etniska minoriteter i Sverige förr och nu*. Stockholm: Liber.

Anderson, B.(1991,1992b). *Imagined Communities*, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. (translated). Göteborg: Diadalos.

Bourdieu; P. & Passeron, J-C. (1977a, 1990b). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.

Brulin, G. (1989). Motsägelsefull ledning och styrning, in Sandberg, Å (Ed.) *Ledning för alla?* Om perspektivbrytningar i företagsledning. Stockholm: Norstedts

Callewœrt, S. & Kallós, D. (1992). Den rosa vågen i svensk pedagogik, in Selander, S. (Ed.), *Forskning om utbildning*. Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag.

Delpit, L. (1988). *The Silenced Dialogue*: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children. Harvard Educational Review 58 (pp. 280-298), August 1988.

Denitch, B. (1994). *Ethnic Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Douglas, K. (1993). *Mötet med Sverige*, några bosniska flyktingars situation. Lund University, Department of Education.

Douglas, K. (1994). rev. *Mötet med Sverige*, några bosniska flyktingars situation. Conference Paper, Etnicitet och social mobilisering. Umeå University: 26-11-1994.

Douglas, K. (1995). Flyktingar och vuxenutbildning, in Gustavsson, S. & Svanberg, I. (Eds.) *Flyktingar i Sverige, det bosniska exemplet*. Stockholm: Gidlunds/Arena (to be pub. 1995).

Ekvall, G. (1990). *Idéer, organisationsklimat och ledningsfilosofi*. Stockholm: Norstedts.

Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding Everyday Racism*. London: Sage.

Giroux, H. (1992). *Boarder Crossings*, Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education. New York: Routledge.

Husén, T. (1953). Rekrytering och intagning av elever till högre läroanstalter, in Lindberg, L. & Berge, B-M (Eds), *Pedagogik som vetenskap* - vetenskap som pedagogik. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Hydén, A. (1994). *Rapport från projektet vid Landskrona flyktingförläggning*. Lund University, Department of Social Anthropology.

Hylland Eriksen, T. (1993). *Kulturterrorism*, Ett oppgjör med tanken om kulturell renhet. Oslo: Spartacus Förlag.

HSFR (1991). *Etik*,Forskningsetiska principer för humaniora och samhällsvetenskap.

Jonsson, S. (1994). *Är de amerikanska universiteten universella?* article, (pp.79-88). Tvärsnitt 3/4-1994.

Knowles, M. (1984). *The Adult Learner*. A Neglected Species. Houston: Gulf.

Meighan, R. (1981, 1986b). *A Sociology of Educating*. London: Cassel.

Olsson, E. (1989). *Vacuumförpackat*, Flyktingfamiljer i Stockholm. FoU-rapport nr. 96.

Riksrevisionsverkets rapport RRV-93. *Svenskundervisning för invandrare* -Uppföljning av 1991 års reform. Stockholm.

Ruth, A. (1986). *Myten om kulturell apartheid*, article. Dagens Nyheter, 30-11-1986.

Rystad, G. (1992). (Ed.). *Encounters with Strangers*. Refugees and Cultural Confrontation in Sweden. Lund: University Press.

Svensson, A. (1992). *Ungrare i folkhemmet*, Svensk flyktingpolitik i det kalla krigets skugga. Lund: University Press.

Ålund, A. & Schierup, C. (1992). Kulturpluralismens paradoxer, in *Kulturella perspektiv*. 1992:1

Ålund, A. (1993). Marta och Mira, in Arnstberg, K-O. (Ed.). *Kultur, Kultur, Kultur*: Perspektiv på kulturmöten i Sverige. Stockholm: Liber.

Widgren, J. (1984). *Svensk invandrarpolitik*. Lund: Liber.

Guardian Weekly 1995

Helsingborgs Dagblad 1994

Skolvärlden 1994

ISSN 1100-3391